

looking ahead

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House Hearings on Civil Defense

Nonmilitary Defense of the United States

by H. Christian Sonne

Chairman, NPA Board of Trustees

The statement presented here was made by Mr. Sonne to the Subcommittee on Military Operations of the House Committee on Government Operations June 28, 1956. Mr. Sonne had been invited to discuss the report of the NPA Special Committee on Nonmilitary Defense Planning, "A Program for the Nonmilitary Defense of the United States," published by NPA in 1955. Mr. Sonne is chairman of this NPA Special Committee.

ABOUT A YEAR AGO the NPA Special Committee on Nonmilitary Defense Planning recommended a program for the nonmilitary defense of the United States and published a report by Dr. William H. Stead. Our report has been referred to a number of times in your Hearings, and I believe you have had testimony from Dr. Stead.

In the NPA report, the Special Policy Committee made three recommendations. Our first recommendation was that provision be made for coordination and direction under centralized responsibility of the nonmilitary defense program within the Federal Government. I will discuss this recommendation in more detail in the statement which follows.

Our second recommendation was for the establishment of a "Nonmilitary Defense Commission," to appraise the effectiveness of the existing nonmilitary defense program and recommend legislation, organization, and authority needed for its improvement. We are happy that your distinguished Committee is working toward this end. It is performing a great service to the nation. We trust that its recommendations and subsequent Congressional and administrative action will attain the objectives of the second proposal made by our Committee.

Our third proposal was for the establishment of a private, "Nonmilitary Defense Council." This nongovernmental agency would be financed by foundations and work with private groups to promote public understanding of the nature and requirements of a nonmilitary defense program; undertake needed private research programs; aid governmental agencies in working out cooperative arrangements with private and community groups; and serve as a center of constructive thought and planning to look ahead and anticipate the changing nature

Machines Can't Plan

- "New scientific discoveries, together with automation, open up new vistas which we can as yet barely see, but, if you will permit a pun, the benefits of automation will not be automatic.
- "Under automation, a new machine working on the feedback principle does check on and correct its own mistakes. But it cannot, and never will, correct the social and economic disruption which it may cause. That is for us to do—by fearlessly meeting all of the related problems straight-on and by being prepared to do the necessary planning and taking necessary action to reap the benefits from our scientific advances."

From an address by Albert J. Hayes, NPA trustee and president of the International Association of Machinists, before the American Public Relations Association's 12th Annual Conference in Washington, April 1956. Mr. Hayes spoke on "Public Relations Problems of Automation."



of the nonmilitary defense program. We have felt that our third recommendation would have greater significance and would be much more likely to be realized if the work of your Committee achieves a strong Federal nonmilitary defense structure and program.

I begin by setting forth certain fundamental principles which should guide our thinking about nonmilitary defense.

1. Nonmilitary defense is comparable in importance to military defense as a deterrent to nuclear attack, as an instrument for survival in the event of an attack, and as the basis for ultimate victory. General LeMay's view that nonmilitary defense is second only to a strong striking air power for this purpose has already been reported to you.

2. Nonmilitary defense is a Federal responsibility to a much greater extent than has been recognized. The pattern of damage this country will suffer if attack should come will not follow existing lines of political subdivision, and many of the tasks of planning and management far exceed the collective and certainly the individual capacity of state and local authorities.

3. Nonmilitary defense is a responsibility that will be with us as far as we can see into the future. If we are to maintain our country's continued security in this thermo-nuclear age, we must have a first-class and well integrated nonmilitary defense program.

4. If disarmament should occur, nonmilitary defense would rise rather than decrease in importance. No disarmament system can be foolproof and no one can claim that a nonmilitary defense program is aggressive in character.

5. We should not delude ourselves into thinking that we have a reliable nonmilitary defense program now. Such a delusion is worse than no program at all. We can provide a much better program. We can afford such a program without reducing military expenditures or hurting the economy. We must organize to bring it about.

IN A NUCLEAR WAR, with threatened heavy loss of life, destruction of property, and economic upheaval, the role of nonmilitary defense must be viewed as much broader than disaster relief. It encompasses all activities associated with the job of pre-attack planning, and post-attack managing, of all the nonmilitary resources of the national economy.

Heretofore, nonmilitary defense usually has been considered as "civilian defense": meas-

ures to save lives during attack and to provide disaster relief after attack. There are other, and equally critical, areas in a comprehensive nonmilitary defense program, but they have received insufficient attention. These include the wartime management of manpower and industrial resources; stabilization programs; supplying the essential credit and financial instruments; assuring the continuity of government; providing Federal guidance and direction for state and local nonmilitary defense activities; establishing policies governing the repair, restoration and replacement of civilian, industrial, and military facilities damaged during attack; and developing resource relationships with our allies. Survival depends on the positive steps we will be able to take after attack, not merely on the essentially negative steps to alleviate suffering and lessen damage.

Let me illustrate by mentioning briefly some of the critical problems that now exist in pre-attack planning, or would exist in the emergency following attack:

Stockpiling policy. The present stockpile program, based on earlier experience in World War II and the Korean fighting, concentrates largely on raw materials that might be in critical short supply during war. Nuclear attack on continental United States calls for an entirely different stockpile program in which our stress would be on equipment for shortening production cycles, components, food, water and other items that will help us survive and speed our recovery. Only limited action has been taken toward filling these needs, and responsibility has been divided without comprehensive central planning and management.

Industrial dispersal policy. We have made little progress in planning the dispersal of industrial facilities needed to minimize the danger of nuclear attack. We do not know what kind and pattern of industrial dispersal would do this job at tolerable cost to the economy. We do not know how--in our free society--to secure the scale of dispersal needed. Both military and civilian agencies are interested in the formulation of an industrial dispersion policy and both are concerned with its implementation.

Management personnel policy. The assignment, training, and direction of personnel for managing a stricken economy will be critically important in preparing to meet the conditions created by nuclear attack. At the present time, a number of ill-coordinated, ineffective programs are in progress in this field.

Continuity of government. To minimize

confusion, maintain morale, and speed restoration of a minimum essential level of economic activity, we must assure continuity of Federal, state and local civil government in affected areas. All levels of government should cooperate in making plans for clear chains of command through all levels for all contingencies and a clear division of powers and responsibilities for all emergency tasks.

Credit and finance. Dangerous destruction of credit facilities and institutions, and of the consumer and industrial financing structure will follow attack. Plans should be made now to deal with this difficult problem.

Allocation of critical resources. Four major claims for critical resources must be dealt with post attack: civilian survival, industrial reconstruction, military, and aid to allies. We need organizational structure and procedures for adjudicating competing claims for scarce supplies. We also need policies and criteria to guide management judgment.

Industrial reconstruction. Great pressures can be anticipated post attack to rebuild and restore all damaged and destroyed industrial facilities. In a period of scarcity, we will need centrally determined policies to guide local administrators in deciding what to rebuild and what to abandon.

PROGRESS IN SUCH a broadly conceived nonmilitary defense program is lagging dangerously behind our progress in the military defense area. The two principal reasons for this unsatisfactory record are the failure to grasp the concept of the comprehensive nonmilitary defense program, and the failure to create the appropriate government organization structure and related assignment of responsibility for emergency planning and management.

Under existing legislation, the following assignments of responsibility for nonmilitary defense exist:

a. The Office of Defense Mobilization has a loosely-defined responsibility for planning and managing nonmilitary defense programs. It lacks both the comprehensive statutory authority and the budget required to implement this responsibility in an effective manner.

b. The Federal Civil Defense Administration, under separate statute, has a loosely-defined responsibility in the same area, with emphasis on minimizing loss of life during attack and affording emergency relief and rehabilitation to the civilian population after attack.

c. The armed forces have important interests in pre-attack planning to minimize destruction of resources, and they would bear post-attack responsibility for relief and rehabilitation of the civilian population if some variant of limited martial law were established. In addition, the armed forces have a critical post-attack interest in the assignment of manpower and production resources.

d. State and local authorities have been left important responsibilities and powers, real or implied, under the civil defense statute.

Informal arrangements between the ODM, the FCDA, and the Department of Defense are being used to deal with some of the problems common to all three agencies. These arrangements do not produce adequate pre-attack planning, and are likely to break down in an emergency.

To correct the existing unsatisfactory state of affairs in the nonmilitary defense area, two fundamental propositions must be accepted:

a. Nonmilitary defense is comparable in importance to military defense in deterring attack, in minimizing loss of life and damage to resources in the event of attack, and in providing the conditions on which victory can be built if the emergency comes.

b. A comprehensive nonmilitary defense program can be achieved only by beginning with the elimination of existing confusion and overlap of responsibility and existing budget deficiencies.

The broad concept of unified responsibility for nonmilitary defense was embodied in the National Security Act of 1947. This legislation provided for the National Security Council, for a unified Department of Defense and for a National Security Resources Board with broad responsibility for planning and coordinating a comprehensive nonmilitary defense program. Through these agencies, Congress clearly intended to establish the organizational structure which would secure integration of policy planning and policy execution in both military and nonmilitary defense areas.

We should return to this concept. Congress should establish a single agency responsible for all phases of nonmilitary defense as it has been broadly defined in this testimony. This agency would be responsible for planning, policy making, coordinating the activities and supervising the performance of delegate agencies. The head of this agency should report to the President and should be a member of the National Security Council.

This agency should be authorized to create

such subsidiary agencies as may be found necessary to carry out the total nonmilitary defense assignments in both the planning and management phases. A civilian defense organization reconstituted to concentrate on emergency disaster relief, should be one of these subsidiary agencies, of which others would be concerned with such functions as production, manpower, and stabilization.

(The NPA Special Policy Committee Statement, "A Program for the Nonmilitary Defense of the United States," and a report by William H. Stead, "The Tasks of Nonmilitary Defense and the Present Status of Planning," are available from NPA. PP-92, 1955. 97 pp. \$1.50)

Index of International Education

ACUMULATIVE ROSTER of foreign-trained personnel is now available to business, professional and private organizations, and government agencies. Compiled by the Institute of International Education, the Central Index of Educational Exchangees at present is a record of the 19,365 Americans who from 1919 to 1955 have studied, trained, or taught in 120 foreign countries and the 191,331 foreign citizens from 151 countries who have come to the United States for educational purposes. It is estimated that the names of 25,000 to 30,000 new exchangees will be added annually to the Index.

Indicating age, sex, academic status, field of interest, and so forth for each exchangee, the Central Index should be of particular value in research, program planning, and personnel recruitment. Since the start of its preparation in 1953, it has been used as the source of over 500 statistical tabulations and lists.

While the degree of inclusiveness of this index is difficult to assess since the exact total of exchangees is unknown, its coverage of U. S. and foreign students and scholars particularly in the postwar period is most complete. Less complete data was available on the pre-war period and on U. S. and foreign trainees and observers whose names were not available through educational institutions.

Mr. Kenneth Holland, NPA International Committee member, whose article "International Exchange of Technicians and Scholars" appeared in the April issue of "Looking Ahead," is president of the Institute of International Education.

—the people of NPA—

John
Hay
Whitney



John Hay Whitney, NPA trustee, has freely spent his own wealth and energy to promote a happier America. The John Hay Whitney Foundation, which he founded in 1949, has instituted and carried on a number of important programs including the Opportunity Fellowships Program which assists able Americans who, because of arbitrary barriers such as racial or cultural background, or region of residence have not had the fullest opportunity to develop their abilities. The Foundation also financed a seven-year study of labor-management relations, "The Causes of Industrial Peace Under Collective Bargaining" undertaken by NPA and made funds available for the NPA series on United States Business Performance Abroad. Mr. Whitney is the founder and senior partner of J. H. Whitney & Co., a private, venture capital concern which was established in 1946 to finance and assist the development of growth industries. For a number of years he has been chairman of the board of the Freeport Sulphur Company and a director of Great Northern Paper Company. Recently appointed a member of the President's Committee on Education Beyond High School, in 1954 he served as a member of the President's Commission on Foreign Economic Policy and in 1954 and 1955 as vice chairman of the Secretary of State's Public Committee on Personnel. He is a member of the Business Advisory Council of the Department of Commerce and has also served as a member of the United States National Commission for UNESCO. In addition to these public duties, Mr. Whitney is a successor trustee of Yale University, a trustee of Fisk University, chairman of the board of the Museum of Modern Art and vice president of the board of governors of the New York Hospital.

Utilizing Meteors

THE TRAILS of hundreds of meteors which crash hourly into the earth's atmosphere have been put to practical use in a new, reliable, high-speed form of long distance communication. Developed by a Canadian Defense Research Board team, the system, called "Janet," beams radio waves at the electrically-charged minute particles left in the trail of a meteor, giving the radio waves a 1,000-mile "free ride" through space.

The use of low-power equipment makes efficient and economical long-range communication systems for all-season use a definite possibility. Using frequencies previously used only for short distance transmission, such as television broadcasts, which are considerably less crowded than those now being used for long distance communications, this system in effect opens a new band for long distance use.

If the system should eventually be found adaptable for the transmission of television signals, it could revolutionize the entire television industry by eliminating coaxial cables and relay stations now required for cross-country and intercontinental television transmission.

The Canadian experiment utilizes two widely-separated ground stations which employ many of the recently developed computer or "electronic brain" techniques. When the circuit at one of the stations detects a suitably located meteor trail in the upper atmosphere, the message previously stored is transmitted automatically to the other end of the circuit.

Because each meteor can be used for only an instant, the transmission of the message is in short bursts at very high speeds. In fact, the actual transmission speed is much too rapid to be received by standard teletype equipment. Incoming information, therefore, is held in storage and printed at normal speeds during the intervals between transmission bursts. Because of the high-speed transmission rate and the frequent occurrence of meteors in the atmosphere, lengthy messages may be passed between stations in a relatively short space of time.

Defense authorities in the United Kingdom and the United States have been kept fully informed throughout the development program which was begun four years ago and recently declassified by the Canadian Department of National Defense.

("Canadian Weekly Bulletin." vol. 11, no. 37, July 18, 1956. From: Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.)

Burma Study

ANOTHER in the series of NPA reports on the development problems of individual non-Communist countries was issued this summer by the International Committee. The study, "The Economic Development of Burma," concludes that this key noncommitted country has now reached a turning point in its economic history at which economic aid from the United States can play a decisive role. Whether Burma will establish commercial ties with the Communist bloc or the free world may be largely dependent on the continued availability of assistance from the United States on terms politically acceptable to Burma.

Burma's signing this year of trade-aid agreements with several countries—including the Soviet Union—is both an indication of its interest in securing foreign assistance for its economic development and also a warning that if such aid is not forthcoming from the West on acceptable terms, Burma will be forced into economic dependence upon the Communist bloc.

Dr. Everett E. Hagen, author of the report, observes that U. S. aid in the form of technical assistance grants and long-term, low-interest loans can be of considerable importance to Burma for a decade or two. But, he stresses, "conditions unrelated to the efficient use of the funds should not be attached to aid; they defeat the purpose of the aid." Thus, he states, the precedent now in effect should be followed whereby the receipt of funds is not conditioned on military alliance or agreement with the United States.

He stresses the importance of assuring the Burmese of continuing economic aid, in effect giving them a guarantee that "if only they summon up the energy, the courage, and the persistence that are needed to accomplish major national changes, economic resources will be available for a long enough time to complete the job."

(PP-96. "The Economic Development of Burma," by Everett E. Hagen. From: NPA, July 1956. 88 pp. \$1.25)

Human Reactions in Disaster Situations

IN JUNE 1953, a fireworks factory exploded in Houston, Texas, blowing skyward a mushroom cloud of smoke. Windows a mile away were splintered, and rumors spread that an A-bomb had dropped on Texas. Thousands of miles away and five months earlier, high spring tides and strong winds stirred the Atlantic off southwestern Holland, and with a violence not witnessed for hundreds of years, the sea cascaded over the dykes, directly striking at 535,575 acres of Dutch land. These two catastrophes had this in common--that in each case a team of social scientists was immediately sent to the area. These teams studied the reactions of human beings to sudden, extreme situations, seeking what Harry B. Williams of the National Academy of Sciences' Committee on Disaster Studies calls "scientific understanding of the human effects and problems of disasters, both present and potential."

Knowledge of the behavior, attitudes, and actions of populations and their institutions, it is hoped, will make it possible to limit the impact of disaster when and where it may strike. It can be made to pay off in areas where natural disaster is a possibility, and its significance for civil defense in the nuclear age is obvious.

The Committee on Disaster Studies, which prepared the reports discussed here was formed in 1952 at the request of the Army, Navy, and Air Force Medical Services. With Dr. Carlyle F. Jacobsen as chairman, it was placed under the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council's Division of Anthropology and Psychology--its mission to "conduct a survey and study in the fields of scientific research and development applicable to problems which might result from disasters caused by enemy action." Its concern is not so much with equipment and technical systems but rather with the utilization of resources and the organization of human society under emergency conditions.

A four volume study of the 1953 Holland flood was prepared for the Committee by the Institute for Social Research in the Netherlands. A large staff of research workers from eye witness accounts traced the psycho-socio-cultural changes which took place from the onset of disaster through the emergency period of rescue and temporary social disorganization, evacuation, and finally to the gradual restoration of a new community life.

The investigators amassed quantities of heterogeneous data. They tried to discover how people first learned of the flood danger, how the warning system functioned, and whether it worked--in towns and on remote farms. Where it failed, they dug out the reasons. They recorded the actions people took, what they tried to save of their property, what seemed important to them, what they complained about or laughed about, and whether they acted with hysteria or coolness, and resourcefulness.

The disaster was both a group and personal experience and it touched an individual in both ways; sometimes multi-group loyalties--to family, friends, civic organization--lead to conflicts of duty.

On the question of emergency direction of operations, the report states, "The functions and responsibilities must be determined beforehand. Such instructions must have the necessary suppleness to avoid any misunderstanding about the delegation of responsibility when the possibility of contact with others no longer exists."

IT HAS BEEN FOUND that people need instruction in the seriousness of a potential disaster whatever it may be, for human beings frequently minimize danger in the threat-and-warning stage, tending to base their opinion of what will happen on their previous experience and their expectations. Commenting on the disbelief and disregard with which many people saw the Holland flood worsen, the investigators say, "there is (a) factor, which is probably applicable in every extreme situation. It is that people can never accept the worst immediately." This psychological inability to believe in the possibility of a completely devastating disaster can impede proper action.

In this same respect, Houston investigators were concerned with the inadequacy of the reasons given by persons who said that they had rejected their first thought that an A-bomb had exploded. These reasons, the report states, were based more on expectation than on proper assessment of cues. Had the bomb been real, the consequences might have been serious.

While a judgment of what happened would matter little, the report comments, to persons who might have been caught in zones near ground zero, it could prove very important for

persons in zones where damage is light. "The attitude of 'it can't happen here,' might occasion a brief but serious delay in assimilation of the fact of an atomic attack and in the re-orientation of the individual with reference to this reality." It may well be, the report continues, "that the private citizen should be discouraged from attempting to decide for himself the nature of any disaster, particularly those producing a highly ambiguous stimulus situation."

Concern was also expressed in the report that only a very small number of persons received their information about the source of the explosion from authoritative sources. Out of a sample of 139 persons interviewed, well over half first learned what happened via the rumor process--from people who had rushed to the scene, by telephone, or other means, "A minority," the report states, "less than 20 percent, got their first accurate information from media of mass communication, radio, television, or the press." Only three persons out of the sample went immediately to their radios--the approved source of information--to discover what had happened.

("Studies in Holland Flood Disaster, 1953," 4 vols. and "A Study of Response to the Houston, Texas, Fireworks Explosion," Lewis M. Killian. Disaster Study No. 2. From: National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council, 2101 Constitution Ave., Wash. D. C.)

Land Reform in Italy

ONE OF THE LAST Western countries to yield to the demand for agrarian reform, Italy now has underway a land reform program which will transform nearly two million acres and give to 100,000 landless families farms, homes, social services, and hope. Analyzing the elements of this program in a report for the NPA Agriculture Committee, Lowry Nelson of the Institute of Agriculture at the University of Minnesota feels that land reform has been instrumental in helping to forestall the spread of communism in Italy, particularly in the crucial southern trouble spot--an agricultural area long marked by unemployment, overpopulation, and inadequate utilization of its meagre land resources.

Mr. Nelson concludes that the \$640 million endeavor begun in 1950 with Marshall Plan

funds though carried out in an atmosphere of urgency will successfully have demonstrated to millions "a better way of life to which they and their children may aspire."

After World War II, provision for land redistribution was incorporated into the Constitution of the new Italian Republic. All parties, Mr. Nelson states, were committed to it, differing only in regard to methods and degree of expropriation. The laws finally passed in 1950 after two years of study and planning anticipated an orderly transition based on scientific mapping, soil surveys, crop studies, and careful consideration of the eligibility of the landless workers to be reestablished on the new plots as owners.

The target of reform was chiefly idle or extensively cultivated land and model farms were frequently exempted, Mr. Nelson reports. Landowners whose property exceeded 750 acres were subject to expropriation and reimbursed generally at land prices calculated for tax purposes in 1948. However, under certain circumstances and with the approval of the land authority or Ente, landowners might carry out improvements on a portion of the land subject to expropriation and earn the right to keep an additional portion of it.

Among changes effected by the land reform program, Mr. Nelson lists the following:

- A more intensive type of farming utilizing vineyards, tree crops along with grain and forage crops in a four- or five-year rotation system will replace an extensive monoculture, preponderantly winter wheat and grazing, on nearly two million acres.
- Land values will rise sharply even on adjacent unexpropriated land owing to new roads, new villages, service centers, and the like.
- Increased numbers and quality of dairy stock can be expected.
- Employment of nearly all categories of workers will expand--both professional and nonprofessional and in enterprises directly concerned with or indirectly stimulated by the program. It is to be noted, however, that land reform alone will not solve the unemployment problem in Italy, but, Mr. Nelson states, a drive for new industries especially in the south is underway and must be expanded.
- The upgrading of wagehands and tenants to the status of proprietor along with the increased opportunities for education and an improved standard of living will strengthen the rural middle class.

(PP-97. "Land Reform in Italy," by Lowry Nelson. From: NPA, August 1956. 47 pp. 75¢)

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